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DEVAL RANI
-WA-
KHIZR KHAN
A FICTION

By
JAGAN LAL GUPTA

Shiva Pustak-Mala Karyalya, Bulandshahr
1934

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PUBLISHERS NOTE

The author is pre-eminently a research scholar than a lawyer. Inspite of handicaps in the shape of good libraries and books he delights in putting his axe to the very root of certain historical facts which are taken to be as gospel truths by eminent historians but which have no historical foundation. In the book Deval Rani-wa-Khizr Khan: a fiction, he has tried to prove that the story is a creation of the brain of Amir Khusru and not a historical fact.

It was printed in Hindi by the Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Benares, and the present edition is an enlarged and revised translation

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of the Hindi edition in the light of the suggestions of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhaka Mandal, Poona.

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DEVAL RANI--WA--KHIZR KHAN:
A FICTION

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DEVAL RANI-WA-KHIZR KHAN : A FICTION.

My aim, in this short treatise, is to critically examine the anecdote relating the marriage of Deval Devi with Khizr Khan.

This alleged incident belongs to the reign of Allauddin Khilji whose name as a Pathan king stands out prominent. He ruled from 1295. A. D. to 1316. A. D. Of the important events which took place during his reign, the fall of Chittour and the conquest of Gujerat, have been invested with a halo of romance. Fall of Chittour has been immortalised by the pious name of Sati Padmini.

Malik Mohammad of Jais, in his famous book 'ThePadmavati' has sung this story so masterfully as to arouse the whole literary world to a pitch of ecstacy.

The creative imagination of Amir Khusru, splendidly displayed in his great work named 'Deval Rani-wa-KhizrKhan', better known by the

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name of 'Ashiqi' has, by the introduction of the marriages of Rani Kamlavati and Deval Devi, subordinated fact by fiction. In this semi-historital poem there is a beautiful description in so alluring a form as to carry conviction how Rani Kamlavati, wife of Raja Karan of Gujerat ,and her daughter from the Raja, Deval Devi by name, were respectively espoused by Allauddin and his son and heir apparent, Khizr Khan.

Amir Khusru was not only a great poet and a deep scholar but also an innovator, who, by introduction of Qawwali for DHRUPAD or Dhruvapada, Sitar for more complex and famous Vina, emblem of Saraswati and, BASANT KA MELA, Spring Fair, commonly known as PHOOLWALON KI SER (a promenade of persons carrying flowers) tried to array Islamic culture side by side with the sister culture of the Hindus, insidiously creating interest in his own and contempt for the other. Himself regarded as one of the greatest Muslim saints in India, he paved the way for missionaries and religious mendicants known as FAQIRS and AULIYAS. Though a Sufi, he orthodoxly followed Quranic injunction (Sharai) and had no respect for Hindu-ism as religion and no sympathy for Hindus as men whom he invariably called by the name of Kafirs, defiles, crows, or followers of false religion. But, for

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matters according to his wishes.

He found it easy to write poetry rather than true history, for in the latter he must have found insurmountable difficulties in achieving his object. Moreover, it is very likely that his historical works could not have got so much popularity. Semi-historical poetical fictions are naturally more fascinating. The poet can introduce any new character into the plot who may not be connected with the real facts at all or who may be wholly foreign to the real history. A wise writer can disseminate such thoughts and ideas from the mouth of his semi-real or imaginary characters as he aims at, but this is not possible for the writer of true history. However, Amir Khusru's works have the accredited authenticity of history which has been the root of considerable confusion. The description of those facts which relate to such imaginary characters as those of the two fictions, Anand-Math and Chandra Kanta, generally leave the same impression on the mind of a general reader which is conveyed by a perusual of a true history. The fact, that Amir Khusru has deceived so many scholars, is undoubtedly a very good evidence of his success, but a historian cannot praise him. We see that the Farishta (Cir. 1604 A. D) Mulla Abdul Qadir of Badayun and Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari (the last two being the

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authors of Muntakhba-ut-Twarikh and Nuskha-i-Jahan-Ara respectively often quote from the MASNAWI of Khusru, specially from the Deval Rani -wa-Khizrkhan, in support of their histories, and they believe them to be correct verbatum. Here is a brief synopsis of the Masnawi Dewalrani -wa-Khizr Khan.

(1) § After writing prayer, and praise of the prophet and his friends in the first 37 pages, Amir Khusru gives the following cause of composing

§ Amir Khusru composed Masnawi Dovalrani -wa-Khizrkhan after the system of the Sanskrit Mahakavyas. After offering prayers to God he praised the prophet and his friends and then he describes the conquests of the hero's father. The Sanskrit poets describe the story of their hero's conquests, but Amir Khusru's hero being a mere child and incapable of making conquests, he mentions the victories of the father instead.

Masnavi is a kind of verse in Persian literature. A composition of this sort is not necessarily always lyrical, but like great Sanskrit poems much space is generally occupied by love description.

The reference to pages throughout is from the Aligarh Muslim University Edition of the Masnavi of Deval Rani-wa-Khizrkhan of 1917 by Muslana Rasbid Ahmad Sahib.

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this work. He wrote this book under the directions of his master KhizrKhan, who gave the original draft from his pen. Then upto the page 55 Allauddin's victories and "obliteration of the signs of Hinduism from Hindustan by his sword" find place.

(2) Having killed his guardian, benefactor, uncle, and father-in-law, Feroze Khilji on the 22nd of Zil Hij 695 A. H. § (Monday, Kartik Krishana 8. V. S. 1353) Allauddin usurps the throne of Delhi. (pp. 55 to 58). He defends his territory from those Mongols who came over under Kutlaqu Khwaji, Tirtak, Alibeg and other Mongol generals: as upto that time they had not come within the fold of Muhammadanism they are mentioned as "KAFIRS" or infindels (p. 63.)

(3) Upto page 75 the story of the obliteration of the signs of Hinduism from Hindustan by the sword of the Khilji Sultan finds place which can be retold in a few words thus:—before being

§ This very date is given by Khusru in Khazain-ul-Futuh also, but Zia-uddin Barni gives the year 696 A. H. This difference of one year is consistently seen throughout the reign of Allauddin Khilji in the histories of these two authors; and also in those of other historians who quote from them.

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enthroned the Khilji soldier had conquered Deogiri. and after becoming a Sultan he takes over the possession of Sindh and some other mountainous territory. The king of Gujerat is imprisoned and his whole kingdom is devastated by fire All this was achieved by Ulagh Khan in order to spread his religion and destroy idols (p. 64). Ranthambhor, Chittaur, Malwa, Samana, Tilang, and the sea coast upto the island of Ceylone are plundered with the same desire of spreading the religion of God.

When the Muslim arms reach Mabar (probably Malabar) the Pandya king is also defeated, Chittour is occupied and it is given the new name of Khizrabad after the hero Khizr, who is also made the Governor of it.

(4) Amir Khusru gives a detailed account of the conquest of Gujerat at Page 81 thus:—

"Allauddin sends his brother Ulagh Khan to invade the country of Gujerat. The Raja is defeated and his wife Kamla Devi is taken captive. She having been carried to the palace of Allauddin became his Queen (page 81).

(5) The author makes a reference to the two daughters born of Kamla Devi from the Raja : the elder one of whom having died long before and the other is said to be only 6

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months old when the Rani came to Delhi leaving her in Gujerat.

(6) At this time Allauddin feels the need of a slave-girl or PARASTAR for his son and crown prince Khizr Khan, Kamla Devi requests that her surviving daughter, which she had left in Gujerat, might be brought to her, and the Khilji king grants her prayer. He directs Raja Karan to give in marriage his daughter to Khizr Khan. To his proposal he not only gladly agrees but also sends Deval Devi to Delhi.

(7) Meanwhile, Allauddin makes up his mind to conquer and annex Gujerat to his kingdom and for this purpose he sends over Ulagh Khan with other generals (pp. 84—85)

(8) Sankhal Deo (Shankerdeva), the king of Devagiri finds Raja Karan seeking his shelter, and he proposes that Deval Devi be married to his brother Bhilam Deo (Bhan Deva). Raja Karan agrees to it reluctantly, and he sends his daughter to Devagiri (pp. 85—86).

(9) The soldiers of Ulagh Khan capture Deval Devi on her way to Devagiri and carry her to their general and then she is sent to Delhi (pp 86—87).

(10) On reaching Delhi both Khizr Khan

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and Deval Devi fall at one another and feel a mutual attraction (pp. 87–90).

(11) One day Allauddin with the previous consent of his queen, Jahan Ara, informs Khizr Khan in her presence that he will be married to Deval Devi. Khizr Khan, out of modesty, leaves their presence and goes out, but Deval Devi is quite unaware of his proposal. She loves Khizr Khan merely because she found in his face an image of his brother whom she had not seen since her separation from her father and showed a sort of fraternal love for him. At this stage Khizr Khan was 10 and Deval Devi only 8 (pp. 92–93). After this event nothing about marriage is heard again.

(12) When Deval Devi was nine years old Khizr Khan grows up into a youngman, and Allauddin settles his marriage with the daughter of Alp Khan the maternal uncle of Khizr Khan (p. 95.)

(13) This marriage is performed with great pomp and show on the 23rd of Ramzan 711 A. H. (Phalgun Krishana 8. V. S. 1368) after brisk preparation of three years. The marriage party stays for 3 months at the house of the bride's father. Amir Khusru has given full and lavish description of all these things (pp. 151–168).

(14) Meanwhile, the pure and simple

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fraternal. Khizr Khan and Deval Devi Devi ripens into sexual attraction Khizr Khan's mother knows how far the matters have reached and that her son might die in case he does not get his beloved. Jahanara sends Deval Devi to Lal Kila far beyond the reach of Khizr Khan. Here an exchange of love letters begins. They see each other once or twice secretly also. The poet has been at his best in depicting all this and he has given a nice expression to his imagination although occasionally he has become somewhat immoderate also (pp. 96—119)

(15) Deval Devi totally takes hold of Khizr Khan's mind and he does not and cannot forget her. His condition goes from bad to worse day by bay. Inspite of all these when he finds his parents, he himself talks in this connection with his mother. She passes on the message to Allauddin, who after going into the matter fully gives his consent for the marriage to be performed in privacy. (pp. 168—220). Thus the long desired union of these anxious lovers takes place in a corner of the palace in the presence of family relations only after the NIKAH ceremony is performed in a very ordinary way (p. 221).

(16) Khizr Khan becomes a desciple and devotee of Nizam Uddin Aulya. All of a

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devotee of Nizam Uddin Auliya. All of a sudden Alauddin becomes indisposed and the crown prince undertakes to perform a pilgrimage to Hatnapur on foot in case his father's life is saved. He fulfils his word on his recovery. but during his absence Malik Kafur, the notorious favourite of Allauddin, incites the king by back-biting against his son and Alp Khan, and, as a result of it Alp Khan is murdered and the crown prince having been dethroned is imprisioned. Amir Khusru explains the reason of this calamity on Khizr Khan in this way that he neither observed the ordinary rules of saintly life nor did he visit his religious teacher before, during and after the pilgrimage (pp. 221—242).

(17) The prisoner prince ponders over his distressed condition and finds himself innocent, but still he decides to present himself before the king and beg his pardon. Consequently he reaches Delhi. Allauddin forgives him and sets him free. But soon he gives himself up to debauchery and as a result of the intrigues of Malik Kafur, Allauddin sends him to Gwalior to be imprisoned again there (pp. 243—257).

(18) Writhing under mental and physical worries Allauddin breathes his last on the 7th of Shawwal 715, A. H. (Magha Shukla 10 V. S.

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1372). The whole country is infested with anarchy. Malik Kafur sends Sambul to Gwalior ordering him to pick out the eyeballs of Khizr Khan (pp. 259—60).

(19) Khizr Khan is made blind. Malik Kafur conspires to slay Mubarik Shah together with Shahabuddin, the successor of Allauddin, but his companions put him to death also. Khizr Khan feels relief at these news and he offers thanks to God from the core of his heart (pp. 262—267).

(20) Mubarik Shah becomes the guardian (and regent) of the new minor sultan Shahabuddin who was his younger brother also, and was merely a child of 6 or 7 years, but within two months only he makes him also a co-prisoner of the blind Khizr Khan. Very soon, however, he feels necessity of murdering him for political reasons. (p. 273).

(21) He tries to find out some pretence for gaining this object. He sends word to Khizr Khan that he would set him free, and also restore him some Jagir if he agrees to give him Devalrani. Khizr Khan does not agree to it and thus he gets a pretext to slay him also. (pp. 274—275).

(22) Shadi Khan, an executioner is

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appointed to murder Devalrani. Finally, but when no human heart, not even Shadi Khan's, is found ready to fulfil this ruthless and barbarous act of cruelty, a low caste of Hindu is brought to the scene to complete this heinous crime (pp. 276—284).

(23) Meanwhile Allauddin's other sons, Shadi Khan and Shab-uddin, are also put to death (p. 285).

(24) The heart rendering bewailing of Devalrani for her husband; (25) the grief and sorrow of the relatives of these victims, and (26) the story of burial of the corps in the Vijay Mandir take us up to p. 297.

This is the story of Devalrani and Khizr Khan in short which Amir Khusru describes in 4519 lines. Out of these 319 narrate the death of Khizr Khan and these were added after 7 Zika'd 715 (Phalgun Shukla 10 V. S. 1372), the date of his death. The major portion of the book must have been composed by this time. The author generally narrates the facts without giving dates, but if he has given any date, it has been included in the above given synopsis.

In this connection the fact is all the more important that the name of Deval Devi

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is not changed even after her marriage with the Muslim prince and she has always been mentioned by her "KAFIR" name ever after.

Out of this synopsis the facts mentioned in paras 2, 3, 13, 18 to 21, and 23 are either historical or semi-historical. It does not matter if they find quite a different form in the works of other writers. The rest of the paras contain the result of the imagination of the great poet, and they have no place in true history. These are neither historical nor semi-historical. This great masnavi of the poet MINUS the descriptions of above referred to historital and semi-historical facts neither breaks the thread of the main story nor loses the charm of it, but simply its historical value. Amir Khusru could have composed his work with equal eloquence and success without mentioning historical and semi-historical facts, but in that case those doubts and suspicions could not have crept in the minds of the ordinary readers of history which they entertain now, nor the book could have been given such undue historical importance.

This great poem has greatly influenced the latter compilation of History. The successors of Amir Khusru being misled by it, have accepted all the facts mentioned by it to be

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true in toto. They have quoted it in their History books at length in support of such events as find no place in any serious historica treatise. We find that Muhammad Quasim Hindu Shah, the author of the well known extensive history of India (Cir. 1015 A. H.-1663 V. S.) not only quotes from the writings of Amir Khusru freely when describing the reign of Allauddin, but he mentions with great force the history of the second invasion on Gujarat in 705 A. H. (V. S. 1363 F. A. ± 1306). He relies for his account of the love-story of Deval Rani and Khizr Khan on this very book of Amir Khusru. No less bigoted Muslim historian than Mulla Abdul Quadir Badauni also thought it necessary to mention some facts of this love fiction in his well known work on history, namely, Muntakhba-Ut-tawarikh. No doubt the Badauni did not, like Farishta, commit the blunder of mentioning a second invaasion on Gujerat in 706 A. H. (Supera), but he too was not slow in giving the minute details of this amourous tale. He admits clearly this much also that he wholly relies for it on Amir Khusru only.

Another comtemporary historian and a learned poet of Akbar's reign was Quazi Ahamad Ghaffari, who has given place to this legend

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in his treatise on history named Nusha-i-Jahan-Ara. He too does not examine the historical truth of this fact. Thus we see, that, when such learned historians and writers as Quazi Ahmad Ghaffari, Al-Badauni, and Farishta, easily became victims of this error, the fate of the modern European and Indian writers on history is still more pitiable, who generally rely upon the translations of old Persian works of these authors. Dr. Ishwari Prasad M. A., of Allahabad University, is a professor of History; he too in his "Mediæval India," a treatise on Muhammadan History mentions a second invasion of Gujerat to have taken place in 1308 A. D. (1365 V. S.) Presumably by the year 1308. A. D. the learned professor means 706 A. H. Mr. Lanepool is another modern historian who repeated this mistake in his work. Shreeyuat G. S. Sirdesai in his Marathi book Hindustancha Arvachin Itihas quotes almost word for word from the Farishta when mentioning this invasion (see Vol. I pp. 176-179*). Even the research scholars of

*It is amazing to note that the compilers of the Imperial Gazetteer of India and Mr. Vincent Saith do not make any reference to any Muhammad invasion on the Gujerat in 1306 or 1308 (706 or 708 A. H.) but they mention the invasion of A. H. 607 (1297 A. D.) only.

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the fame of Dr. Fleet and Dr. Krishan Shastri Ayanger hasten to mention these facts in their studious works. In brief, not a single historian could keep himself free from this mistake. Particularly the reader finds a tendency among the past historians following Amir Khusru that they invariably attempt to make up any discrepancy they may find in completing the story by adding imaginary facts and descriptions here and there. For instance, Amir Khusru knew at heart that the subject matter of the Ashiqi is nothing but pure fiction, hence he takes care not to give any dates of the facts which he narrates; but the Farishta and the Badayuni complete the picture in this respect by inserting dates. However, more light will be thrown on these facts later on, here we shall see if really there was such an invasion of the Gujerat in 706 A. H. (1308 A. D.) as the result of which Deval Devi was brought to Delhi.

Invasion on the Gujerat Generally speeking

Mr. Smith, however, seems to believe in the truth of the legend of Devil Devi (Vide his Oxford History of India 1923, p. 235).

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the History of Delhi Allauddin centres round the two invasions of the Gujerat i. e. in the year 1297 A. D and again in 1300 A. D. Let us consider each of these.

First invasion.—Zia-i-uddin Barni describes the first attack on the Gujerat in his history in the beginning of the year 697 A. H. (the end of the V. S. 1353) thus:— In the beginning of the 3rd coronation year Ulagh Khan and Nusarat Khan together with many big Amirs and a large army invaded Gujerat and they looted and devastated Naharwala (Anhilipur) and then the whole of Gujerat. The Raja Karan fled away from Naharwala to Deogir and took shelter with Ramdeva; and his wives, daughter, treasures and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslim army and the whole territory was looted. They also took away that idol which the Hindus had raised up in place of Somnath after its desecration and and destruction by Mahmud of Ghazni. It was removed to Delhi where the entire population trampled it under feet. Nusarat Khan went to Khambayat where he extorted by force much Jewellery and valuable articles from the millionaires of that place. It was on this occasion that he snatched away Malik Kafur Hazardinari, from his master, of whose.

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comeliness Alluddin became so enamoured that he was later on promoted to the position of Malik Nayab. (Trahslated from Tarikh-i-Ferozkhahi pp. 251-2 Edi. of R. A. S. of Bengal, 1862).

Zia-i-uddin, too was, like Amir Khusru a contemporary and Court Historian as well as favourite of the Khilji. His uncle Ala-ul-mulk was a Government servant on a very high post. Barni completed his history in A. H. (1415 V. S. 1358 A. D.) after a great labour of 6 years, and, either he saw himself or heard from those of his relations and friends who saw with their own eyes what he wrote. He was not only eager to make his history as such in its real sense but he himself was a real historian. He, too, had strong prejudice against Hindus and was himself a bigoted Muhammadan but the difference between him and Khusru was this that the latter was a poet while the former was not a poet taking flights in the world of imagination. It is worth remembering that Zia-i-uddin compiled his work at the advanced age of 74 with all the experience of such a long period at his command.

Hindu Historians:—Muhnaut Nainsi, the Abul Fazal of Rajputana, writes thus about this invasion in his famous Khyata:—

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"The Baghela King Beerdhawal too, snatched the kingdom of Patan from the Solanki Kings in 1253 V. S. His reign lasted for 45 years, 3 months and 1 day. His son Visal Deva reigned for 25 years, 4 months and 3 days. Visal Deva was succeeded by his son Karan Ghela (the idiot) who took the daughter of the Nagar Brahaman Madhava forcibly into his harem. That Brahman called Allauddin for assistance and got the royal army to invade. The Turks occupied Gujerat (P. 213). Again. "In the year 1340 Madhawa Brahaman became the Prime-minister. A quarrel arose between him and the Baghelas, he went and requested Allauddin to attack Gujerat. He agreed to pay one hundred thousand gold mohurs for each Manzil (stage). The Turks took the land as a result of it" (p. 215 of Hindi Edition published by the N. P. Sabha of Benares).

Farishta:—This event relates to the year 1355 V. S. 1297-8 A. D. and when the Farishta compiled his history after about 300 years, he put the narration of the Barni in his work almost word by word, and it does not seem proper to retranslate it here.

The facts relating to Madhawa mentioned by Muhanaut Nainsi have come down by tradition upto this time in the land of

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Gujarat and they are well known there. Mr. G. S. Sirdesai also mentions them in his history (Ch: 11). Mr. Nand Shanker Tulja Shanker wrote a Novel Karan Ghelo (Karan, the idiot) based upon these facts, in Gujerati so early as the year 1868.

Result:—In short "the Bhagela Power came to an end by 1297, in the Gujerat "(Nainsi); as the king Karan was taken prisoner, (Khusru) or he ran away into the jungles and his country was fully devastated (Barni) so that the Hindu power also was uprooted from Gujerat by this time" (Nainsi and Barni).

According to Barni when the Hindu Kingdom was destroyed, the family of Raja Karan was made captive and Karan himself, having been dethroned, was roaming helplessly, then there does not arise any occasion of a second invasion of the Gujerat against any Hindu Raja in the year 1308. Even Khusru is clear on this point in his Khazain-ul-Fatuh. Here we take the liberty to make quotations from his work in extenso:—

"Having described the dagger, thrust in many victories over the Mughals, I now come to the conquest of the Hindus of Gujerat. As the sword of the Emperor of land and sea had

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been plentifully smeared with the blood of the infidel Mugals he wished to wash off the clotted impurity in the immense ocean. Consequently on Wednesday, the 20th Jamadi-ul-awwal 699 A. H., a fortunate day, he issued a firman to the Arizi-i-wa'a to send an army like clouds to the coast of Gujerat to destroy the temple of Somnath. Like an angel directing the clouds the late Ulagh Khan (May God make him drink out of the fountain of his forgiveness) was appointed to lead the victorious army. Resolved to conquer, the clouds moved towards the sea; and as the foundation of the temple were water-deep, they wished to bring its submit to the water also. When the imperial army reached the city of that land, the sword of the righteous monarch completely conquered the province, which, adorned like a bride, had escaped so many emperors of the past. Much blood was shed. A general invitation was issued to all the beasts and birds of the forest to a continuous feast of meat and drink. In the marriage banquests, at which the Hindus were sacrificed, animals of all kinds ate them to their satisfaction. Then the Khan-ai-Azam moved his army towards the sea. Round the temple of Somnath, which is the centre of Hindu worship, he drew a circle with his troops,

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and planted his Khatai spear so high towards the centre that its sharp point almost pierced the sky. The banner of Islam was elevated to the equator, while every arch emerging from the two semi-circles, into which the army was divided, without fail, passed its arrow through the black dot of infidelity. So the temple of Somnath was made to bow towards the holy Mecca, and as the temple lowered its head and jumped into the sea, you may say that the building first said prayers and then had a bath, The idols, which had fixed their abode midway to the house of Abraham (Mecca) and there waylaid straggelers were broken to pieces in persuance of Abraham's tradition. But one idol, the greatest of them all was sent by the Maliks to the imperial court, so that the breaking of their helpless God may da be demonstrated to the idol worshipping Hindus. It seemed as if the imperial sword explained the meaning of the text so he (Abraham) broke them (idols) into piecss except the chief of them that haply they may return to it. Such a pagan country, the Mecca of the infidels, now acted as guides in place of the Brahaman leaders. The robust hearted true believers rigorously broke all idels and temples wherever they found them. Owing to the way

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"Takbir" and "Shahadat" was heard on every side, even the idols by their breaking affirmed the existence of God. In this ancient land of infidelity the call to prayers rose so high that it was heard in Baghdad and Madan (ctesiphon) while the Alai proclamation (Khutba) resounded in the dome of Abraham and over the water of Zam Zam. As to the city of Naharwala and the city of Kambayat (Cambay), which the sea raises its head to swallow it up, as well as the other cities situated on the coast, though the sea beats against them with force, yet the waves of the Muslim Army did not turn to the sea to wash of the contamination of infidelity from the land, but cleaned the ground by a deluge of infidel blood; for if blood is not clean, and cannot cleans,yet the sword is a purifier, and the sword having overcome the infidels, their blood became pure also. My object in this simili is not real blood but only to show that the sword of Islam purified the land as the sun purified the earth."

("Khazain - ul - Fatuh, chap. IV Journal of Indian History No. 24 p. 363)

Indeed how could have Karn lived and ruled any more after such a disgrace at the hands of the victorious Mohammadans who had at

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the time of invaion practically no influence in the Gujerat or the Deccan. There may be some historical truth in the fact that Karan took shelter with RamaDeva, as the Barni says, yet it is also a real fact that the fromer got no assistance from his co-religionist neighbours because, if it had happened otherwise, Barni and Khusru, or either of them, must have alluded to it, and, Ulagh Khan and Nusarat Khan, the victorious generals, of Allauddin, must have marched against him at once. The movements of Nusarat Khan towards Khambayat give reason to think that he went there in persuit of Karan with a view to take him captive to Delhi, but as he was not successful in this scheme, he returned with great spoil only. Anyhow, we do not get any more reference of Raja Karan in any contemporary history, inscription, grant or coin or any other document of the kind after the year 1297 A. D.

Second invasion of the Gujerat—

Farishta— But the Farishta gives a detailed account of the second invasion thus:—

The Sultan made up his mind to send Malik Kafur Hazardinari, together with his famous nobles, to conquer the Deccan. The reason was that the king of Devagarh had broken his word by not sending the tribute for three

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years continuously, and the kings of the Deccan had entered into an alliance against the Sultan. The Sultan thought it necessary to suppress the evil, and, having honoured Malik Kafur with Royal Robe and Saraparda, sent him with the renowned nobles, and, ordered that the later should submit to the directions of Malik Kafur in all matters. Khwaja Haji, who himself was a bravo man and was on the high post of the Nayab of the Ariz Mumlikat (Assistant to the Minister of the Foreign Department), was appointed to the post of the Minister of the army in camp." The Farishta next quotes from the Jahan-Ara, the history of Quazi Ahamad Ghaffari thus:— "These were despatched with 100,000 army to the Deccan in the beginning of the year 706 A. H., and, orders were issued to Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, the Governor of Malwa, and Ulagh Khan, the Governor of Gujerat that they should assist Malik Kafur as duty bound and should submit to what he says, and should not give him any chance of complaint. On this occasion the Queen Kanwarladi (by which is meant Kamladevi, the Kawaladi of Amir Khusru) submitted that she had two moon faced daughters in her arms when she was in the harem of Raja Karan. When her good fortune brought her into the service

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of his Majesty, they both were left with the Raja. Now she had heard that the elder of them had made her abode in the earth, but the younger one was still alive. She hoped that Ulagh Khan and Malik Kafur be ordered to add this grain of dust to the shining sun of the Sultan. The king at once ordered both of the generals to the effect that Deval Devi she sent up to the Queen with or without the consent of Raja Karan, who was then in the Deccan" (History of Farishta Vol I pp. 168-9, Urdu edition of Newal Kishore press, 1914).

Further, he describes, in detail, how an ambassador was sent to Raja Karan, how he refused to send his daughter, how the hand of Deval Devi was saught for by Raja Ramdeo for his son Sangal Deo (Shankhal Deo of Amir Khusru), and how the Raja Karan refused this union on the ground that he himself being a Rajput was superior to Shankhal who was a Mahratta. and how on being explained the fact to him that the Turks were infidels while Shankhal Deo was of his own religion..... Karan agreed to give his daughter, Deval Devi, in marriage to him. The story of Deval Devi's falling into the hands of Khilji forces is also narrated

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by him Col. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh solely on his authority.

Amir Khusru.—Amir Khusru is highly poetic in his description of this phase of the story. He writes, "Raja Karan was made captive on account of his misfortune. The same famous Ulagh Khan was sent against him to crush his country into particles. He was sent with a view to raise the honour of his religion and to destroy the evil minded Raja, who was the persecutor of the good. He over-flooded the ocean and its coasts with blood up to its brims. He caused confusion in the temple of Somnath, and calamity and hopelessness in other temples."

We have already learnt all these facts from the Barni also, merely with this difference that Amir Khusru instead of making any reference to the imprisonment of the wives and daughters (not daughter) at this stage of the story continues his story upto the occasion of the second invasion wherein he gives these details also pp. 80—81) *

*The reference to the pages of the "Masnavi Devalrani-wa-Khizr Khan are from the edition of the Aligarh Muslim University, 1917. It is very strange that its editor has throughout the book changed Alp Khan for

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Critical From all the quotations about the second invasion, it is clear that the invasion was led under the command of Malik Kafur who was accompanied by Ulagh Khan and Ain ul-Mulk. But Ulagh Khan had already been slain in or about the year 702 A. H. (1302 A. D.), during the siege of Ranthambhor (Tarikh Ferozshahi) p. 283; and Tarikh Farishta pp. 157 to 160).

(b) The cause of this second invasion was this, that Ramdeo had ceased to send the annual tributes to Delhi, as is alleged by the authors of Twarikh Jahan Ara or Farishta. No other historian assigns any other cause of this invasion; but neither of these two even allege that the cause of the attack on Ramdeo was the fact that he gave refuge to Raja Karan after 1297 A. D., or that he had made an alliance with the enemies of the Sultan.

(c) According to Amir Khsuru, the Raja was willing to give his daughter in

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Ulagh Khan. An important change of this sort, in the reading of the text of any book, edited and published under the patronage of such an important institution, cannot be allowed without remarks.

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marriage to a Mlechchh, but the Farishta and Ghaffari both agree on this point that Raja Karan was not ready to marry her even to Hindu Marhatta prince i.e. Shankhal-Deva. Now there is nothing to explain this change of mind of one born and bred within the stern stronghold of Hindu culture and society. On the basis of the present data of history, it cannot be said that any Hindu king, before Raja Karan, gave in marriage his daughter willingly or reluctantly, to any Mohammadan, and therefore there can be no reason why a prince too proud of the honour of his high family to give his daughter to a Yadav Rajkumar of his own religion (simply because he was inferior to him in caste) was willing to eat humble pie by giving the hand of his daughter in marriage to a Mohamaddan prince without any pressure.

(d) No reason whatever is given for this second invasion of Gujerat.

(e) According to Amir Khusru, Kamla Devi had already become the wife of Allauddin, and, now her daughter was also going to be married to his son. A believer in the faith of the Prophet, a pious and religious

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Sufi may not see anything objectionable in such connections, but a Hindu lady of culture, and at the same time, of strong views, born and bred in the atmosphere of Hindu traditions, could in no way have proposed and supported such a marriage. Indeed it is next to impossible, under these circumstances, to conceive such a union.

(f) The facts mentioned above in paras 6 to 9 clearly lack some details, but Ghaffari and Farishta take it upon themselves to fill up the gaps. They attempt, vainly, to establish a pretext for the imaginary invasion led by Malik Kafur against Raja Karan, on the refusal of Deval Devi's hand.

(g) Inspite of all these hard facts, let us admit, for the sake of argument, that there was a second invasion on Gujerat in 706 A. H. (1306 A. D.) but one will have to admit that this love story, when examined in the light of other contemporary events, will not stand the test.

From the Barni; it is clear that Ulagh Khan led this invasion in 697 A. H. (1297 A. D.), probably just after the rainy season, and it was then that Kamla Devi was taken captive. At that time, Deval Devi was only 6 months

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old, according to Khusru, which means that she was born in the middle of 696 A. H. and that in 704 she must be eight years old, as he further says, that she was eight years old at her arrival in Delhi. Now, at this period of the Khilji rule, the whole of the Northern and North-western India was bearing the brunt of the incessant attacks of the Moughals. Kapak, Iqbal, Alibeg and such other furious Scythian warriors were engaging the whole attention of the Khilji Sultan, and his whole energy was being spent in driving them back. Thus, it is clear, that, he could have no leisure to use his armies in Gujerat for such frivolous things. Moreover, the author of the Jahan-Ara gives 703 A. H. the date of this invasion, and, then, she must be at least 10 years old. It is to be borne in mind in this connection, that this second invasion of Gujerat was a part and parcel of the extensive scheme of the conquest of the Deccan under the leadership of Malik Kafur, and, was taken in hand in 708 A. H. (1308 A. D.) as is admitted by almost all the historians. Why do, then, the Ghaffari and the Farishta give 706 A. H. as the date of this invasion? They do so simply for the reason, that they knew it, that in case the Gujerat was attacked in 708 A. H. (1308 A. D). Deval Devi's birth

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could not have taken place in the days of Raja Karan as Khusru asserts.

(h) According to the Farishta, Deval Devi was 6 years old when she reached Delhi (Farishta Vol. I pp. 169-170). Perhaps it is the period of her separation from her mother. If Farishta is correct here (and the Ghaffari also, on whose authority the Farishta relies), then the Gujerat must have been invaded in 703 A. H. (1303 A. D.). But, in this year, Allauddin himself was busy in Ranthambhor and Chittaur, and his generals were busy with their arms in Malwa and Dhar. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Malik Kafur and his, leutenants to invade Gujerat.

(i) As has been stated already, it was in 708 A. H. (1308 A. D.) that the scheme of the conquest of the Deccan was evolved, and that Sultan Allaundin gave it his sanction. Almost all the historians agree on this point, and if in this year a Deval Devi aged six years was brought to Delhi then she must have been born in 702 A. H. (1302 A. D.), and by this time her mother must have passed about five years in the harem of the Sultan when Raja Karan might be roaming some where in the jungles of the Deccan

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or the Gujerat.

(j) Again, let us admit, for the sake of argument, that Deval Devi was six years old in 708, but even then, the other factors of the story do not agree with the plot. Let us compare the facts about the age of Khizr Khan, and try to arrive at some result.

Khusru admits Deval Devi to be 8 years old when Khizr Khan was only ten. It means that Khizr Khan's birth took place in 698 A.H. i.e. he was born after Devl Devi. But it is not correct. Barni is explicit in this respect. He says that Khizr Khan, with his two brothers, Shahabuddin and Shadi Khan, was slain in 718 A.H. (1318 A. D.). The Badayuni has repeated this fact and the Farishta does not differ from it. So that Khizr Khan, having been born in 698 A.H., must be 20 years old in 718. But really he was only 18 at that time, for, the Barni calls him to be of the equal age of Qutub Uddin Mubarik who was 17 in 717 A.H., (p.313). It would thus appear that Khizr Khan must have been born in 700 A.H. or in 699 A.H. at the most. In any case Khizr Khan was younger and not older than Deval Devi.

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(k) Supra in para 11 Khusru implies that Deval Devi had a brother, but history does not show that Raja Karan had had any son. The traditional history of the land also proves that he was not fortunate enough to beget any child. This fact indicates his total ignorance of the family of Raja Karan. It will be seen, later on, that even the name of Deval Devi or Deval Rani, assigned to any daughter of the Raja, is also purely a concoction.

(l) Now, think over the poetic imagination of the great poet for awhile, a girl of 8 years only, having been snatched away from her parents and other members of her family, is thrown amongest strangers whose tongue too is foreign to her ears, and with whom she cannot even converse. These were the people who dealt with her father violently, like enemies. Certainly they were the cause of the whole misfortune of her family and her evil fate. All these things happened before her eyes, and it is natural that such violent and unfriendly behaviour of the aggressors could, in no way, have enlisted her sympathy towards themselves, but on the contrary all these must have caused fear and hatred in her mind towards the unwelcome strangers. And, under these sorrowful conditions, it was quite impossible that

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amorous feelings could have arrested the mind of an innocent child of eight or ten. Could that girl have had sufficient leisure and calmness for such love intrigues? How was it possible for her that, at such a young age, within this short period under these trying circumstances, she might have got the mastery over the language of her enemies, sufficient to express the tender feelings of love? Amir Khusru goes even so far as to say that there was an exchange of letters also. Were these things possible?

The truth and only truth is this, that all these things were clear to the mind of Allam-i-Khusru also. Really he did not believe these facts at all, he neither mentions the fact of the second inroad into the Gujerat nor does he give the name of Kamladevi and Devaldevi in his historical work, the Khazain-ul-Futuh. Indeed none of the factors of the story of Deval Rani and Khizr Khan find a place in that work. This omission is itself a very important reason to conclude that 'Masnavi Khizr Khan and Devalrani' is purely a fiction.

Name of Deval Devi a myth. In the presence of all this accumulated evidence it cannot be believed that any Deval Devi or

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Deval Rani, alleged to be the daughter of Raja Karan of Gujerat, was ever taken to Delhi. It makes, even, the entry of Kamala Devi into the palace of Allauddin doubtful. Then, the question arises what led the imagination of Khusru to think of the name Deval Devi?

Even the name itself has its own history. There was a famous strong-hold Ranthambhor or Ran - Stambhapur (the pillar of war) in the vicinity of the fort of Chittaur connected with the famous name of Sati Padmini. It was then considered impregnable. At that time, it was occupied by Hammir Deva Chauhan, 'the Sharan Vatsal' e.i. the friend of refugees. Allauddin laid seige to this fort, and took it after more than one failure. It is described, at length, in another paper, by the auther published in the Nagari Pracharini Patrika Benares, Vol. XII pp. 259 - 309 & Vol. XIII pp. 279 - 339, which is based on several old Sanskrita and Hindi books in addition to the persian histories. In one of such Hindi books, the Hammir Hatha, Rana Hammir Deva of Ranthmbhor is said to have one daughter named Deval Devi or Deval Rani. In a verse of it, Muhlahan, the envoy of Allauddin to Rana Hammir Deva, asks him the hand of his daughter, Deval Devi—

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अलना—करी साह सल्लाह की बात मीसों,
सुनो भाजि आयो इहाँ मीर खूनी।
इसी वास्ते आप माहि भेजो,
उसे दीजिए बेगि मँगाय हूना॥
करो साथ कुँवर देवल ताई,
भरो दंड बैठे करो राज हैमी।
यहै बात मेरा कही मान लीजै,
नहीं नेक मैं होयगी राज सूनी॥ ६५॥

The other important authority, on this point, is a Sanskrit work on history, namely Hammir Mahakavya. It deals chiefly with the Chauhans of the Ranthanbhor branch. Its verses 105-115 of canto XIII give a dialogue between Deval Devi and her father about the seige of the fort, and the terms of peace offered by Allauddin. It was composed some 47 years after the occurrence of the events i.e. about the year 1352 A.D., or 754 A.H. It is clear, then, that its authorship belongs to some earlier period than that of the History of the Barni, and is equally, if not more, trustworthy. From these two works it becomes clear that he was as unsuccessful in obtaining this Rajput princess of Ranthambhore as he himself

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could not make Sati Padmini his bride. the Rajputs did Jauhar in saffron garb and and the Rajputanis embraced the flaming fire. Here are those verses:—

§ इतश्च राजपत्नीभिरनुशास्य प्रणोदिता
पुत्री देवल्लदेवीति नत्वा भूपं व्यजिज्ञपत् १०६
हा हा तात मदर्थं किं राज्यं विध्वंसयस्यदः
किं कीलिकार्थं प्रासादं पातयति कश्चन १०७
प्रभूता अपि पुत्राः किं कुर्युः पूर्वतमांगजाः
परार्थमेव वर्धेत या क्षुद्रश्चारिवान्वहं १०८
मत्प्रदानेन साम्राज्यं चिरं यत्क्रियते स्थिरम्
तत्काचखंडदानेन रत्ना चिंतामणेर्न किम् १०९
वरं शौर्यत्र कुत्रापि जीवंति तनुजा वरम्
वृथा हि पुनरावृत्तिर्जीवितां न गतायुषाम् ११०
नीतिः सर्वहितमालोच्य व्ययं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः
तस्मात् मयि दत्तायां किं किं भावि न ते हितम् १११
जामाता भूपतिस्तादृग्सुखं स्वक्षितिरक्षणे
स्वलुब्धा बहु सर्वेषां क्षयमेव किलोपरि ११२
त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थे नीतिरित्याह वाक्पतिः
भ्रातुमार्चयितव्यो मां ददतस्तव का क्षतिः ११३
तन्निधेहि धैर्यं तत्वे विधेहि समयोचितम्
पिधेहि मा च मद्वाक्य शक्रेंद्राय प्रदेहि मां ११४
अयशःपट निर्मांगतुरी तद्भ्रातुरीमिति
श्रुत्वा भृशं स जज्वाल नृपांतस्तर्पिताग्निवत् ११५

Amir Khusru refers to this conquest of

§ English translation of the Sanskrita verses:—

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his master in his Khazain - ul - Futuh, and incidentaly supports the fact of the burning of the daughter of the Raja. Here is his own description, "... ...

The world seemed smaller to the Rai (of Ranthambhor) than the prison within a rosebed. So, in his desparation, one night he lighted a high fire,

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"106—And here (in the palace of Hammir Deo), Deval Devi, the daughter of the king, goaded by the Royal Queen, submitted to the king respectfully, as follows :—

"107—Alas! Alas! My father, why is the destruction of this empire for my sake? who is so foolish as to destroy a palace for a nall!

"108—What is the use of having so many children the eldest of whom brings misfortune to the family!

"109—If the empire can be maintained for a long time by giving myself (to the enemy) then why do you not protect a valuable jewel at the cost of a piece of glass?

"110—It is better that the sons of a dead person may pass their life nomadically; for the dead ones do not come back to life to see them.

111 "—A wise man having considered the

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which rose like a mountain-Tulip on the hill, and threw into it the rosy coloured young maidens, who had grown up in his arms. After he had personally despatched to hell these deserving inmates of paradise,

§ profit and loss of an action should apply himself to it, therefore, my father! What gains shall you not have by giving myself (to the Sultan).

112—"In saving your own territory, you shall have a son-in-law in such a king and much happiness also, for then shall we alone be not happy but every one.

113—"One individual should be given up for the sake of a family, this is the precept of Brihaspati. What do you lose then, in giving me to save your conquered land"!

114—"Therefore use your intelligence, and do what the time requires, do not forget my word and give me to the king of Scythians."

115—"Hearing her wise talk, which was like the shuttle for weaving a cloth of infamy, the king got inflamed at once like fire."

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he came to the head of the pashib with one or two other unbelievers, bent on sacrificing his life with honour.... Thus on the fortunate date, Tuesday 3rd. Ziquad, 700 A. H. such an impregnable fort was taken through the exercise of the strong will "(Khazain-ul-Futuh Chap. IV journal of Indian History No. 24 p. 363)"

One more point should not be missed in studying the problem of the myth of Deval Devi and Khizr Khan. According to the masnavi, Deval Devi was demanded for the Harem of Khizr Khan with whom she is alleged to have been married too; but, it is strange, that, the author of the Hammir Mahakavya does not seem to support this point. In one place, in the book is said, "Put our command on your head by giving the daughter "सुतां च दत्वा किरीटी कुरू नो निर्देश" (Cant. XI 60). Another quotation we come across in cant. XIII. 114. meaning "give myself (Deval Devi) to the king of the Scythians" " शकेन्द्राय पृदेहि माम्". In cant XIII. 105 also, there is one reference to Deval Devi concerning the point, which says that a rumour got currency in the capital to the effect that Allauddin had asked the hand of the daughter —

"धृससार पुरान्तरे। पातां नृपं शकाधीशो यत्पुत्री मेय या तं"

Now, all the above mentioned three pieces

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Allauddin had demanded the daughter. He might have demanded her for himself, or, with equal possibility, for his son. But in the absence of any other reference, and, on the basis of these Muslim Historians, we cannot conclude that he demanded her for his son only. It may be added, without any fear of contradiction, that, if Allauddin had asked her for his son, then, the Sanskrit historian must have expressly told this in clear term.

The Hindi passages quoted above from the Hammir Hath, also does not support the A. Khusru theory, and it is more likely that, like Sati Padmini, Deval Devi also must have been demanded by Allauddin for himself. In that case perhaps under the influence of the Hindu society Khusru might have felt the indecency of the demand and he felt himself bound to make a change in this plot in this respect also. Indeed after bringing Kamla Devi on the stage as the mother of Deval Devi, he must have found himself confronted with unsurmounting difficulties relating to the marriage of one man with a woman and her daughter simultaneously. Any how, neither the idea of the marriage of a man with a woman and that

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of his son with her daughter, nor that of a man with a woman and her daughter simultaneously, is palatable to any Hindu mind.

Thus there are strong reasons to believe that in order to appease the burning mind of his discomfited master, whose court historian and poet lauriate he was. Amir Khusru composed the masnavi at the cost of the good name of Deval Devi and her alleged father, the Raja Karan.

EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS AND OPINIONS.

Bharat Itihas San Shodhak Mandal Quarterly Vol. XII No. 2, p. 88 to B.88, reviews thus:—

The present article has been published in the 4th Number of the 11th volume of the Nagari Pracharini Patrika of Benares, and a reprint copy or the same has been forwarded to us. In the expeditions which Allauddin led against Gujerat and Mahrasthra, either if personally, or through his generals, he got Kamla Devi, the wife, and Deval Devi, the daughter of Ray Karan of Gujerat. Of these he introduced Kamla Devi into his own harem and got Deval Devi married with his son Khizr Khan. These facts have been

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~~wide~~ly read in history books so many times up till now. In this article an attempt is made to prove the fact of the marriage of Deval Devi and Khizr Khan false, and in doing so the writer has first examined these books which are the basis of this story. This fact is mentioned by Amir Khusru, the Farishta, the Alladauni & the Ghaffari in their books of History which are taken as source books also. But only the first of these is a contemporary of Khizr Khan while the rest flourished in the reign of Akbar. and thus there is a difference of about 300 years between these two sets of authorities. Moreover, it is clear that Messers Ferishtah and Co, have copied from Amir Khusru to whose work they make frequent references. It is an admitted fact that the book named Deval Rani and Khizr Khan, in which Amir Khusru has described this fact, is a good work of poetry. He composed a History also namely Khazain — ul — fatuh in which the events of the part reign of Allauddin are given i. e. from the year 1296 A. D to 1310. In it he has given an account of the invasions on Gujerat and Devagiri, but there he makes no refernce to Kamla Devi or Deval Devi at all (journal of Indian History No. 24 pp. 357—373). But Mr. Gupta

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has made no reference to it in his articles (and this omission in itself seems a glaring defect. The other contemporary writer of the Khilji Dynasty is Ziauddin Barni. He finished his work i. e. Tarikh Ferozshahi, after a labour of six years, in 1358 A. D. when he was 74 years old, that is he was an eye witness of the reigns of Allauddin and Khizr Khan. His uncle being a servant of the Khilji house, it was probable that the Barni had a chance to know the real facts about the Royal house. Like Amir Khusru he too, was an Anti—Hindu and bigotted Muhammadan. In his description of the invasions on Gujerat and Maharashtra it is mentioned in connection with the conquest of Gujerat, that the Muhammadans got Ray Karan's wives and treasures etc. (Elliot Vol. III p. 163). It is a general description of the conquest. If really at that time Ray Karan had run away and his wife Kamala Devi had been arrested then this disgraceful fact concerning the Hindu must have been mentioned by him and should not have been omitted in any way. The fact that Malik Kafur, a handsome slave, was got then is spacifically mentioned by him (Ibid). It seems that Amir Khusru's work being a poem, it might have raised

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some doubt about the fact given by him in his work, and thus he (i. e. Barni) was also led to pass these vague and general remarks; thus there remains no other contemporary historical evidence to prove the fact but the poem of Khusru. This in short, Mr. Gupta has proved in this contriburion supporetd with authorities.

No doubt the questions raised by Mr. Gupta on the dates given in these four historical works, as well as on the age of Khizr Khan and Deval Devi, are very important, but in this connection, one fact seems to have lost sight of by Mr. Gupta. In Khazain-ul-Futuh the year of invasions on Gujerat and Devgiri are given 699 and 706 A.H. respatively (journal of Indian history No. 24 pp. 357 and 374). Therefore the inaccuracies caused by age and the date of the invasion are to be overlooked. In the same way, he says on the authority of the "Deval Rani and Khizr Khan," that there was a second invasion on Gujerat. But this requires proof. In para 3 of his summary he (i. e. Mr. Gupta) seems to be giving general description of the achievements of Allauddin while the para 4 seems to be based on the poetry of Amir Khusru.

In this article he has shown what

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confusions Farishta, Ghaffari and other historians have made, when they describe this fact. It is to be seen, that they flourished some 300 years after Amir Khusru, and depend upon his above mentioned poetical work which is their sole authority for this fact, and hence their real value is to be over estimated. Mr. Gupta having brought certain other facts also forward and sifted the available data, has proved that the story of Kamla Devi is not corroborated and that the facts about her do not stand the test of history. Then wherefrom does this Deval Devi come? In this respect too, the theory of the writer is correct. There are two works, one in Hindi namely Hammir Hath, and the other in Sanskrit namely Hammir Mahakavya which deal with the life and achievements of Hammir the Chauhan. In both these books Allauddin's ambassador is said to have demanded Deval Devi, the daughter of Hamir Deo. But as he did not like it, he made a clear refusal for the same. On this occasion, he was beseiged in Ranthambor. In these books, further it is also stated that, as the fort fell before the enemy, all the ladies of the Royal family, including Deval Devi also, performed Jauhar. Here again, Mr. Gupta is supported by Khazain-ul-Futuh. It is mentioned that Hammir himself destroyed

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his daughter, who had grown up in his arms (Journal of Indian History No. 24 p. 363). It is probable that this might have been said by Khusru keeping Deval Devi in view. But again Mr. Gupta has missed this fact also.

OPINIONS

Badar Bagh,
Muslim University
Aligarh.
16th. March, 1933.

Mohammad Habib,
Professor of History and Politics.

My dear Sir,

I fully agree with your views which you have expressed about Deval Rani and Khizr Khan. I had often discussed with professor Bose Mallik on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. Habib.

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12—5—1931.

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your very kind present of the reprint of your valuable article. It is very interesting.

Yours sincerely,

Beni Parsad.

Ghaziabad.
June, 3, 1931.

Dear Mr. Jagan Lal,

I am very thankful to you for kindly sending me a copy of your paper on 'Deval Devi and Khizr Khan'. I have read it from cover to cover with great delight and I hope with profit. You have thrown clear light upon a subject hitherto neglected by almost all scholars and brought out the real truth of the case in a most scholarly and dispassionat manner. I cannot help congratulating you on the attempt I shall look forward to having the pleasure of reading more such writings from your pen, and should be obliged for your telling me on what particular subjects

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you are engaged at present or are interested in.

Thanking you again.

I am yours sincerely.

F. Saran.

Reader of History,

(Benares Hindu University).

Bank Road,
Allahabad. 13-5-31.

Dear Sir,

I have read with particular interest your condemnation of modern historians on p. 421. I am glad among moderns there is none except myself among those who translate from Persian Histories For myself let me hasten to tell you that I am neither a Professor nor have I a claim to be called a historian. I am a humble student willing to receive light from whatever quaters it comes. I hope to read your pamphlet with profit. As for my opinion which you have solicilted, my view is that a mere translatar from Persian histories need hardly waste the time of a genuine researchist in histoty. Indeed it would be an act of unlawful imprudence on his part to pass judgement upon the work of Scholars.

Yours,

Ishwri Prasad.

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